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QUEEN OR POPE !

Hon. Mr. Gladstone's Pamphlet. Arc Catholics Bound to Obey the Orders of the Pope or the Laws of England?

[From the "Louise Pines," November 7th.] The school of Mr. Gladstone's article zpon Situalish in the Contemporary Breise bare scarcely died away, when he again appears on the Said of correct controversy in a pamphlet on The Vatious Decrees in their bearing on Civil Allegiance." The pumphlet, indeed, arises out of the article, and is perhaps an illustration of the perils a statesman incurs who indulges in pumphistoering. His words are apt to touch some feeling or interest besides that which be had immediately in view, and a demand arises for explanations and justifications. Valuable, indeed, as the present pamphlet may be in many spects, we carnot but contemplate with some Pickets, &c. alarm the mass of reading. If not of writing, which it may possibly sotall spop its author. It is described on the title page as "a political expostplation. The expostulation is addressed to English Roman Catholics, and it formally challenges them, in justice to themselves and their country, to demonstrate, if they can, how the obediance now required of them by the Pope can be reconciled with the integrity of their allegiance. It is not likely that such a challenge from such a carter will remain unanswered, and thus a new peril threahers Mr. Gladstone's repose. But these coniderations echance rather than otherwise the aterest of the pumphlet. It deals with

> A CONTROTUEST WHICH IS AUSTABING SURGER. And Mr. Gladstone's interposition will be of im portance far beyond the limits of this Kingdom. The main scope of the pumphlet is to justify a single passage in the previous article. Referring to the question " whether a handful of the clergy are or are not oursged in an atterly hopeless and visionary effort to Romanize the Church and people of England," Mr. Gladstone had said :

"At no time since the bloody reign of Mary has such a scheme been possible. But, if it had been possible in the serenteenth or eighteenth centuries, it would still be impossible in the nineteenth, when Rome has substituted for the proud boast of semper scatters a policy of violence and change in faith: when she has refurbished and paraded anew every resty tool she was fondly thought to have discused; when no one can become her convert without renouncing his moral and mental freedom, and placing his civil loyalty. Sash Weights & Line. and duty at the mercy of another; and when she It is not, then, for the dignity of the Crown and finth or morals, or the government or discipline has equally repudiated modern thought and an-

The public will remember the burst of "disleasure, indignation, even fory," as Mr. Gladstone expresses it, with which these words were received by a large portion of the Irish press. was denounced as if he had been the wildest Orangeman. He says, too, that more than one to join the Roman Catholic communion" have made the pussage the subject of expostelative with him. He maintains, however, that his asser-

NOT MODERNIVE, BUT DEFENSIVE.

And says that instead of the abettors of the Pupe baring a right to remonstrate with the world at large, it is the world at large which has the follest right to remonstrate with the Pupe and his followers. He says :

"I, therefore, as one of the world at large, proose to exposiziate in my turn. I shall strive t show to such of my Roman Catholic fellow-subjects as may kindly give me a bearing that, after the singular steps which the authorities of their Church have in these last years thought fit to take, the people of this country, who fully believe in their locally, are entitled, on purely civil grounds, to expect from them some declaration r manifestation of opinion in reply to that ecclesinguical party in their Church who have laid down in their name principles adverse to the po-

rity and integrity of civil allegiance." He proceeds accordingly to defend his statements, and be discusses them under the heads described in the following passage:

"Undoubtedly my allegations are of great breadth. Such broad allegations require a broad and deep foundation. The first question which they raise is : Are ther, as to the material part of them. true! But even their truth might not suffice to show that their publication was opportune. The second question then which they raise is, Are they, for any practical purpose, material? And forth by the present writer ?"

single word materially affecting his meaning. The for salvation to know." reposition that Bome has substituted for the proud boast of scuper assims a policy of violence and change in faith, and that she has equally repudiated modern thought and ancient history, he dismisses somewhat summarily as belonging to the theological domain. He briefly recalls the manner in which of late years the houst of uniformity of doctrine has been practically obliterated by a claim to a right of development. That the Papal decrees are at war with modern thought. and ancient history he treats as an accepted opinion, at least by a great majority of the British public, for whom he was writing, and the charge "violence" be applies to the arbitrary manner in which the new doctrines have been forced upon the moderate section of the Roman Catholic community. Take the second proposition, again, "That Rome has referbished and puraded anew every rusty tool she has fondly thought to have disused," be also dismisses with comparative brevity, contenting himself with

A PEW PROPOSITIONS.

All the bolders of which have been condemned by the See of Rome, during his generation, rethe Syllabon. The list, which is no doubt amply

sufficient for his purpose, is as follows: I. Those who maintain the liberty of the press. 2. Or the liberty of cooscisons and of worship. 3. Or the liberty of speech.

4. Or who contend that Papal judgments and decrees may, without sur, be disobeyed or deffered from, spiese they treat of the raise of (dogments) faith or morals.

5. Or who assign to the State the power of the Church

6. Or who hold that Roman Postiffs and (Ecomenical Councils have transgressed the limits of their power and assurped the rights of Princes. 7. Or that the Church may not employ force.

the episcopate, but granted to it by the civil an- lity, they are unappealable and irreversible, no tion of that authority.

the Church and its ministers depends upon civil this rule of Catholic trath no man can depart.

ecclosisstical, the civil law should prevail. 11. Or that any method of instruction of youth

solely secular may be approved. 12. Or that knowledge of things philosophical and civil may and should decline to be guided by divine and ecclesiastical actbority.

13. Or that marriage is not, in its essence, a

14. Or that marriage, not sneramentally ecotracted, has a binding force. 15. Or that the abolition of the remporal poser of the Popedom would be highly advantageous

16. Or that any other religion than the Roman religion may be established by a State.

18. Or that the Roman Pontiff ought to come

to terms with progress, liberalism and modern The main attack of the pumphlet is concen-

his civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another" ded the passing of the Catholic Emancipation be reiterates, boidly declares that Act in 1829. He observes that the strength of pay to the Crown an entire allegiance. To an- and government of the Church." swer this allegation, measures were taken to learn from the highest Roman Catholic authorities in this country the exact position of the in the following words: the members of that communion with respect to some of the more exorbitant Papal assumptions. faith with bereties.

MR. OLIDATORE'S CONCERNON.

rule of materialning equal civil rights, irrespective | poor relief, incorporation, mortinain, religious coof religious difference, and he concludes with the downents, yows of celibacy and obedience. In

of the Apostolic Chambers either openly to ob- vation, of every member of his communion. struct or secretly to undermine. It is rightfully we unabstone wants a disclaimed from some. of England, except a handful of emissaries, did and the Council of the Vatican is to be reconfriend of his "among those who have been led resistance to the Armada, and in the seventeenth. circumstances such as these he thinks it not too

CATHOLIC BUSINESS

ter, for instance, declaring indirectly in the affairs of civil government, . takes to be one of two things-that is to say, acres. * * nor to oppose in any manner the performenter,

creed of their specessors -

not an article of the Catholic faith, neither are the integrity of their civil allegiance; or else,

they thereby required to believe, that the Pope 2. That if, when such claim is made, it will, is infallible." Mr. Gladstone then observes that been reversed. The Pope's infallibility, when he Catholic Church would do if the Pope intermed-

speaks ar outhedro on faith and morals, has been died with their religion, replied frankly, " The declared, with the assent of the Bishops of the consequences would be that we should oppose Roman Church, to be an article of faith, binding him by every means in our power, even by the on the conscience of every Christian; his claim exercise of our spiritual authority." to the obedience of his spiritual subjects has been declared in like manner without any practical limit or reserve; and his supremacy, without there is yet a third, though a minor question. any reserve of civil rights, has been similarly afwhich arises out of the propositions in connection | firmed to include everything which relates to the with their authorship : Were they suitable to set discipline and government of the Church throughout the world. And these doctrines, we now believe that these mediaval claims have been dislo-He withdraws cothing, and does but after a know on the highest authority, it is of necessity

SCHERFFEGER OF THE ULTRANOSTRATORS. terfages by which Roman Catholic expositors theological: endeavor to attenuate the stringency of this claim, such, for instance, as that the Pope is only infallible when speaking or cuthedro; and

most frequent of these evasions : matter of murais? Will say of the Roman casuists kindly acquaint as what are the departures cannot full within the domain of morals? * * kind."

. No! Such a distinction would be the unworthy device of a shallow policy, vainly used to But all morbid spiritual appetites might have been hide the during of that wild ambition which at amply satisfied by a cisim to dominion over the ne-Rome, not from the throne, but from behind the seen world. Way did the Roman Court lodge such throne, prompts the movements of the Vatican. I dare not to ask if there be drags or tatters of homan life, such as can escape from the descriptice and boundary of morals. I submit that duty very tangible kind that the risks of so "during a sible for Catholics to render before the promulis a power which rises with us in the morning, raid" upon the civil aphere had been deliberately gation of those decrees. and goes to rest with as at night. It is co-ex- ren. "A during raid," he reiterates, it is, fortensive with the action of our intelligence. It ferring for his suthority to the Encyclical and is the shadow which cleaves to us, go where we will, and which only leaves us when we bouts concilio; and this declaration be makes. not as an otione opinion of the achools, but came-

tis fidelibus credendem et tenendem." But he further insists that the Council has established something even wider in its reach than defining the civil rights (juru) and province of the claim to infallshelty, and that is "the claim to an absolute and entire obedience." This

he expounds it with great energy :

S. Or that the (communities) civil immunity of gregate, are bound truly to obey them; and from constituents. And that which was once truly said save at the peril of his salvation. Surely it is 10. Or that, in the conflict of laws, civil and allowable to say that this third chapter on universal obedience is a formidable rival to the fourth chapter on jufallibility. Indeed, to an observer from without, it seems to leave the dignity to the other, but to reserve the stringency and

efficiency to itself. " The third chapter is the Merovingian Mouarch; the fourth is the Carolingian Mayor of the Pasee. The third has an overawing splendor; the fourth, an iron gripe. Little does it matter to me whether my apperior claims infallibility. power of the Church. It is easy to conceive that This, it will be observed, he demands even in his personal beservience, no less than his teclings cases not covered by his infallibility; cases, as an Italian, must have inclined him individu therefore, in which he admits it to be possible that he may be wrong, but finds it intolerable to With what appears to an English eye a lavish prodibe so. As he must be obeyed in all his judge gality, successive Italian Governments have mad 17. Or that in "countries called Catholic" the ments, though not ar cuthodra, it seems a pity over the ecclesiastical powers and privileges of the free exercise of other religions may leadably be be could not his wise give the comforting asser- monarchy, not to the Church of the country for the ance that they are all certain to be right."

Lest this "estensible reduplication, this apmust have known perfectly well that "faith and or even to justify, has been met, not by re trated upon the third proposition, "That no one | morals " carried everything or everything worth | concellation, but by a constant fire of demunciation can now become a convert to Rome without for. baving, in the purely individual sphere, "they and complaints. When the tone of these denuefeiting his moral and mental freedom, and placing also knew just as well that, even where the individual was subjugated, they might and would that other being the Pope. That all converts still have to deal with the State." He thinks the sole legitimate party of the Latin Church do this deliberately be is, indeed, for from assert. This is the very kernel of the matter. Individual throughout Europe, it leads many to the painful and ing ; but he maintains that they are inexorably servitude, however abject, will not satisfy the revolting conclusion that there is a fixed purpose committed to it. For this purpose he recalls party now dominant in the Latin Church; the among the secret inspirers of Roman policy to pur some incidents of the controversy which proce. State must also be a slare. This third chapter,

" Absolute obedience is due to the Pope, at the opposing party lay in allegation that it was the peril of salvation, not alone in faith, in more city, and amidst the whitening bones of the people. impossible for the consistent Roman Catholic to als, but in all things which concern the discipline

> SUMMING OF THE INDICTMENT. And he sums up his indictment on this head

"Thus are swept into the Papal net whole multitudes of facts, whole systems of government, Something more, he says, was necessary than the prevailing, though in different degrees, in every State is supposed to be comblete, a long cata- says; logue might be drawn of subjects belonging to "My own views and intentions in the fature " the domain and competency of the State, but Europe the circle is far wider, the points of con-" Strong the state of the United Kingdom has tact and interlacing almost innumerable. But always been in material strength, and its moral on all matters respecting which any Pope may people of the United Kingdom to be directed of the Church, he claims, with the approval of a

in the sixteenth, when they were marshaled in ciled with the liberty of civil allegiance. Under when, in despite of the Papal Chair, they sat in | much to ask Roman Catholics that they should the House of Lords under the oath of allegiance. confirm the opinion which we, as fellow country- best inconsiderable." He shows that not merely Bishop Doyle, but the presumptuous imputations which their ecclesithe collective body of the Vicars Apostohe, who astical rulers at Rome, acting autocratically, apthen governed the Roman Catholics of Great pear to have brought upon their capacity to pay wealthy and noble, while the people cannot be Britain utterly repudiated these claims, the lat- a solid and undivided allegiance, and to fulfill the charmed by any incantation into the Roman camp. engagement which their Bishops, as political The original Gospel was supposed to be meant es-"That the Pope nor any other prelate nor ec- sponsors, promised and declared for them in pecialty for the poor; but the guspel of the sineclesiastical person of the Roman Catholic Church | 1825." What he wants, he says, and that in the | teenth century from Rome courts another and less has any right to interfere directly or most specific form and the clearest terms, he

mance of the civil duties which are due to the | 1. A demonstration, that neither in the name of faith nor in the name of morals, nor in the While the Irish Roman Catholic bierarchy peb- name of the government nor discipline of the lished an address containing the following ar- Church, is the Pope of Rome able, by virtue of ticle, which stands in strange contrast with the the powers asserted for him by the Vatican decree, to make any claim upon those who adhere "They declars on oath their belief that it is to his communion of such a nature as can impair

even although resting on the definitions of the Vatican, be repelled and rejected, just as Hishop "Since that time all these propositions have Doyle, when he was asked what the Roman

PRACTICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE PAPAL CLAIMS. Set the important question remains whether these propositions are not only true, but material-whether, that is, they are of practical importance. On this point Mr. Glasstone claims that it has been a favorite purpose of his life " not to conjure up, but to show that the principles I have over taught to conjure down, public starms." But he cannot are beyond impeachment upon that score. terred "like bideous mummies" in the interest of archmology, and without a definite and practical sim. They must have been paraded before the world with a very clearly-conceived and foregone He proceeds to expose, one by one, the sub-purpose. What is that purpose? It may be in part

"There have always been, and there still are, no small proportion of our race-and those by no means in all respects the worst-who are sorely in the following the pussage he explodes the gions disturnance, to discharging their spiritual responsibilities by power of attorney. As advertis- Catholic Church. "Will it be said, finally, that the infallibility ing houses find custom in proportion, not so much touches only matter of faith and morale? Only to the solidity of their resources as to the magnito- of this country and to myself if I did not give a quence of their promises and assurances, so theological holdness in the extension of such claims is and functions of human life which do not and afterents, however it may repel the mass of mansore to pay by widening certain circles of devoted

" A DARING RAID" UPON THE CIVIL SPHERE. formidable demands "for power of the vulgar kind in that sphere which is visible, and where hard knocks one undoubteefly be given as well as re-" It is most evident that the very assertion of principles which establish an exemption from al-

legiance, or which impair its completeness, goes in leave the light of life. So then it is the supreme than with me, to the creation of political strife, and direction of us in respect to all duty which the to dangers of the most material and tangible kind-Postiff declares to belong to bim, sooro appro- The struggle now proceeding in Germany at once occurs to the mind as a prefiningry instance. I'm not compelent to give an opinion upon the parties lars of that struggle. The institutions of Germany and the relative estimate of State power and indi vidual freedom are materially different from ours. But I must say as much as this. Firstly, it is not seisnes, is in that some divided. Pressis alone that is touched; elsewhere, too, thisbone lies ready, though the contention may be delayed. In other states, to Austria pertocularly, thereare recent faws in force, mising much the same part of the decrees of the Council has not, Mr. Issues as the Falck have relacd. But the Gladstone thinks, received due attention, and | Econo Court possesses in perfectles one act—the art of waiting; and it is her wise maxim to fight is limited neither less nor more. " Heren, therefore, where the judgments of the but one enemy at a time. Secondly, if I have truly 8. Or that power, not inherent in the office of Pope do not present the credentials of infallability represented the cistus promulgated from the Vatican, it is difficult to deny that those claims, and the thority, may be withdrawn from it at the discreperson may may be goldgment upon thom, and all

ble for the pains and person may may be,

tion of that anthority. men, cisrical and lay, dispersedly or in the ag- of the present conflict between German and Roman

of France may now also he said with no less troth of Germany-when Germany is disquirted Europe eannot be at rest."

A RENEWED STRUGGLE POR TEMPORAL POWER. Mr. Gladstone expresses a decided opinion that he real object of this policy is to renew a struggle or the temporal power. He says:

"I should feel less anxiety on this subject had the Supreme Pontiff frankly recognized his altered posttion since the events of 1870, and in language as ricar, if not as emphatic, as that in which he has rescribed modern civilization, given to Europe the prence that he would be no part to the re-estab lishment by blood and violence of the temporal towards a course so humano, and I should add, if I revival of the ancient, popular and self-governing elements of its Constitution, but to the Papal chair, parent surplusage," should be undervalued, he for the establishment of ecclesiastical despotism and observes that though the contrivers of the scheme This course, so difficult for a foreigner to appreciate the suppression of the last vestiges of independence. ciations and complaints is compared with the lan guage of the authorized and favored Papal organ sue, by the road of force, upon the arrival of any favorable opportunity, the favorite project of reeven if it can only be re-creeted on the ashes of th

THE POSSIBLE EFFECT OF SUCH AN ATTEMPT. It is, he says, almost ridiculous to imprine that such a project could eventually succeed; but it is difficult to overestimate the effect which it might produce in generating and exasperating strife. It might disturb and paralyze the action of such Governments as might interpose for no separate purpose of their own, but only with a view to the maintenance or restoration of the general peace," renunciation of such extravagances as the right country of the world. Even in the United and in reference to this point Mr. Gladstons turns of deposition and persecution; or of keeping no States, where the severance between Church and ouce more to the Roman Catholics in England. He

"If the Court of Rome really entertains the scheme, it doubtless counts on the support in every country of an organized and devoted party, which, Mr. Gladstone characteristically says, - are of the also undenlably affecting the government of the when it can command the scales of political power, smallest significance." But "in the little that Church; such as, by way of example, marriage. will promote interference, and, when it is in a depends" on him be will still be guided by the burial, education, prison discipline, blasphemy, minority, will work for scouring neutrality. As the peace of Europe may be in Jeopardy, and as the constabulary authorities, might come to be in que tion, it would be most interesting to know the countrymen in England and Ireland with reference panoply is now, we may hope, pretty complete, think proper to declare that they concern either to the subject, and it seems to be one on which we

ROME'S HOLD UPON THE HIGHEST CLASSES. your a path which they have deliberately chosen. Council undoubtedly ecumenical in the Roman thorpates the lequiry whether these observations are Before dismissing the subject, Mr. Gladatone anand which does not rest with all the myrmidons sense, the absolute obedience, at the peril of sal- meant as a recuntation and a regret, and what they indicate as the policy of the future? His answer ! soccinct and plate. "Of what the Liberal party to be expected, it is greatly to be desired, that He thus submits that his proposition is true, the full civil equality of Roman Catholics, I regret All that Mr. Guadatone had done for the Irish the Reman Catholics of this country should do and that England is entitled to ask and to know nothing and I recent nothing." It is, he says, a in the cineteenth century what their forefathers in what way the obedience required by the Pope political misfortune that during the last thirty years the Catholic Church should have acquired as extension of its bold upon the highest classes of among women, "but the number of male convertaor captives (as I might prefer to call them), has not FORMER INFALLIPHIETY CLAIMS REPUDIATED BY men, entertain of them, by "sweeping away, in such a movement in the higher class does not, as such manner and terms as they may think best, usual in this country, indicate any similar move-

modest destination. If the Pope does not contri more souls among us, he certainly controls more

The severance of a certain number of lords of the soil from those who till it can be borne

Papal Infallibility.

Archbishop Manning in Reply to Mr. Gladets The London Daily News publishes the following letter to the editor from Aarchbishop Mann-

Six: The gravity of the subject on which I address you, affecting, as it must, every Catholic in the British Empire, will, I hope, obtain from your courtesy the publication of this letter.

This morning I received a copy of a pamphlet entitled "The Vatican Decrees in their bearing on Civil Allegiance." I find in it a direct appeal to myself, both for the office I hold and for the writings I have published. I gladly acknowledge the duty that hes upon me for both those reasons. I am bound by the office I bear not to suffer a day to pass without repelling from the Catholics of this country the lightest imputation upon their loyalty; and, for my teaching, I am ready

It is true, indeed, that in page fifty-seven of the pamphlet Mr. Gladstone expresses his belief that many of his Roman Cutholic friends and fellowcountry" are, "to say the least of it, as good citizens as himself." But, as the whole pamphlet is an elaborate argument to prove that the teaching of the Vatican Council renders it impossible for them to be so, I cannot accept this gruceful acknowledgment, which implies that they are good citizens because they are at variance with the

I should be wanting in duty to the Catholics prompt contradiction to this statement, and if I did not with equal promptness affirm that the logalty of our civil allegiance is not in spite of the teaching of the Cutholic Church, but because

The sum of the argument in the pamphlet just published to the world is this : That, by the Vatican decrees, such a change has been made in the relations of Catholics to the civil power of States. that it is no longer possible for them to render crived?" It must be for some political object of a the same undivided civil allegiance as it was pos-

In answer to this, it is for the present sufficient to affirm : I. That the Vatican decrees have in no jot or

tittle changed either the obligations or the conditions of civil allegiance. 2. That the civil allegiance of Catholics is as andivided as that of all Christians, and of all men Pumps, Carriage Axles & Springs, who recognize a divine or natural moral law,

3. That the civil allegiance of no man is unlimited; and therefore the civil allegiance of all men who believe in God, or are governed by con-

In this sense, and in no other, can it be said with truth that the civil allegiance of Catholics is divided. The civil allegiance of every Christian. man in England is limited by consciouse and the law of God ; and the civil allegiance of Catholics

The public peace of the British Empire has been consolidated in the last half century by the elimination of religious conflicts and inequalities from our laws. The Empire of Germany might have been equally pesceful and stable if its statemen the old fires of religious discusion. The hand of one man, more than any other, threw this torch of discord into the German Empire. The history of Germany will record the name of Dr. Ignation von Dollinger as the author of this national evil. I lament not only to read the name, but to trace the arguments, of Dr. von Dollinger in the pumphlet before me. May God preserve these kingdoms from the public and private calemities which are visibly impending over Germany. I The author of the pumphiet, in his first line, assures us that his "purpose is not polemical, but pacific." I am sorry that so good an intention should have so

widely erred in the selection of the means. But my purpose is neither to criticise nor to contravert. My desire and my duty as an Englishman, as a Catholic, and as a pastor, in to claim for my flock and for myself a civil allegiance as pure, as true, and as loyal as is rendered by the distinguished author of the pamphlet, or by any subject of the British Empire. I remain, Sir, your taithful survant,

HENRY EDWARD, Archbishop of Westminster

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